



# THE AMERICAN

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### THE AMERICAN.

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#### CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.  
Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.  
Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.  
Opposition to Trusts.  
Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

#### EDITORIAL NOTES.

PEACE negotiations in the Philippines are not progressing with that rapidity which we were led to hope for. It appears that so far the negotiations opened by the Filipinos have been without result, indeed it does not appear that they are not off altogether. At any rate General Otis continues to push forward the campaign against Aguinaldo with vigor, desultory and long range fighting is continuous, the list of casualties among the American forces creeps slowly but steadily higher and though the backbone of resistance seems to be broken, the end of the fighting is not in sight.

At the same time come reports that, in view of the strict censorship over dispatches, are extremely disquieting. Thus we learn that of the Nebraska regiment that has born the brunt of so much fighting only 375 men remain at the front. Does this mean that the greater part of this regiment is incapacitated by sickness? The darkness in which we are kept by the censorship of dispatches gives room for all such thoughts, for knowing that nothing of a discouraging nature is allowed to come over the wires we can never feel quite certain about conditions in the Philippines.

This whole censorship business is unfair to the American public who have a right to ungarbled accounts of what is going on in the Philippines, and so also is the censorship over cables and news sent to the Philippines, censorship over the papers sent to our volunteer soldiers, for though soldiers they are citizens of the United States with votes and a right to take part in settling the policy of the United States in regard to the Philippines as well as everything else, and they have a right to know what is going on at home, a right to know what is said both pro and con of different policies. The assertion that certain newspapers and anti-expansion literature must be kept from them as the reading would incite them to mutiny is a plea that is a reflection upon the patriotism and manhood of the volunteers.

THE placing of the ban of exclusion from the Philippine mails on certain anti-expansion pamphlets of Edward Atkinson, of Boston, on the ground that they are treasonable and calculated to incite our troops in the Philippines to mutiny, has had little effect other than to increase the demand for such pamphlets, which, we must say, may profit the Administration in an unexpected way for such pamphlets are as a whole such poor anti-expansionist literature and so permeated with passion and prejudice as likely to confirm the expansionist who peruses them in his views rather than convince him of the unwisdom of the pursuit of imperialism.

We really can work up little sympathy for Mr. Atkinson who has long inflicted the country with statistical exhibits proving nothing save that figures can be made to lie, but the Administration in excluding some of his pamphlets from the Philippine mails has but exposed itself to ridicule. Some rabid imperialists may applaud this display of the autocratic hand, the hand that fears the enlightenment of its troops and subjects, but those not swayed by blinding prejudice cannot but smile at the first fruits of this order.

The order was issued to the postal authorities at San Francisco to take out of the Manila mails any of the anti-expansion pamphlets by Edward Atkinson that might be found. And these were the men to whom it was found pamphlets had been addressed: Admiral Dewey, General Otis, General Miller, Professors Schurman and Worcester, the latter two being members of the Philippine commission. These were the men who were not permitted to get these pamphlets because the United States could not trust them, feared that such pamphlets would incite them to mutiny. To these men Atkinson pamphlets were found addressed in the

mails and such were the men to whom, under orders from Washington, such pamphlets were not forwarded.

IF THE Administration seriously wishes to discipline anyone on the ground of inciting the volunteers in the Philippines, and whose terms of service have expired, to mutiny; if it believes it can win popularity by such a move it better drop Mr. Atkinson and begin with Governor Thomas, of Colorado, who declares that the volunteers in the Philippines, their terms of service having expired, would be justified in laying down their arms and, demanding of the President the return of the Colorado volunteers, practically says to the President that if those volunteers lay down their arms he will see them through.

Governor Thomas was moved to this drastic speech by the persistent ignoring by the President and the War Department of his demands for the return of the Colorado troops and demands for information as to when such return might be expected. Finally, after this drastic speech, he is officially told such troops will be brought home just as soon as the exigencies of the government transportation system will permit. And with this indefinite answer, which amounts to a declaration that such troops will be brought home at the convenience of the government, he is obliged to content himself.

He is impotent to do anything more towards securing the return of the volunteers of his state than scold, protest and threaten, unless he actually goes so far as to induce some volunteer to lay down his arms, so invite a court martial and then appeal the case to the Supreme Court on the ground that the term of such volunteer having expired he is not amenable to military law, not subject to court martial and ask for his release from custody on the ground that his term of service has expired and that to lay down his arms after the expiration of such term cannot be regarded as desertion. But for the volunteer this might prove a dangerous experiment and at best such time would elapse before the rendering of any decision by the Supreme Court that the process would not be likely to hasten the release of the volunteer troops.

Since writing the above and as we go to press we learn that Governor Thomas denies ever having made such drastic speech, declares that he never spoke the words attributed to him, that they were put into his mouth by an over-zealous reporter, that the interview was a fake, and so, dear reader, consider the above paragraph as far as it concerns Gov. Thomas both null and void.

GENERAL MCREEVE, recently returned from the Philippines, adds an interesting scrap to the history of our Philippine war. He went to Manila with the Thirteenth Minnesota regiment and it is to be said that he is one of those officers who is not enraptured with the idea of Philippine annexation and feels that the war with the Filipinos should have been avoided. "We are doing something" he remarks "that we would have shrunk from not so very long ago," but while he deprecates the war, "feeling that this bloodshed, this necessity of conquering those poor [Filipino] wretches might have been avoided," he declares that "now the fighting is on, now that it seems to be necessary for General Otis to enforce his authority as the representative of the United States, I am in sympathy with what is being done." We thus outline the position of General McReeve by way of preface to what follows and that there may not, by any chance, be any interpretation placed upon his remarks that might cause them or him to appear in a false light. Speaking of the causes leading up to the fight of February 4th, he continues:

"You know how it came and what have been the events since. I do not need to dwell upon them. But I can tell you one piece of news that is not generally known in the United States. On Sunday, February 5th, the day after the fighting began, General Torres of the insurgents came through our lines under a flag of truce and had a personal

interview with General Otis, in which, speaking for Aguinaldo, he declared that the fighting had been begun accidentally and was not authorized by Aguinaldo, that Aguinaldo wished to have it stopped, and that to bring about a conclusion of hostilities he proposed the establishment of a neutral zone between the two armies of any width that would be agreeable to General Otis, so that during the peace negotiations there might be no further danger of conflicts between the two armies. To these representations General Otis sternly replied that the fighting having once begun, must go on to the grim end. And it has been going on ever since."

AFTER reading such interesting statement we are less sure than ever that we do know how the fighting came about. We are more inclined than ever to believe that General Otis, under orders from Washington, invited the attack of the Filipinos on the night of February 4th, disposed his troops so as to precipitate the fighting if Filipinos were not disposed to give way before us, open the way to our advance. At any rate, it appears that General Otis welcomed that night attack as a pretext for making a war of conquest, as opening the way to gaining title to the islands through conquest of the peoples thereof and as precluding the carrying forward of negotiations in peace, and that might have run not in the direction of the annexation of those islands but their independence.

So the motive was not lacking for the annexationists to precipitate fighting in the Philippines, hurry us into a war of conquest, a war cutting off the necessity of entering into negotiations likely to have proven embarrassing to our annexationists. After a war of conquest we might refuse to negotiate with the Filipinos, might treat them as having no rights, might treat them as subjects whom we might do with what we would, rear a government for them to our liking without consulting them, in fact exert arbitrary rule in the Philippines. And this very thing are we now doing. But with the Filipinos, whom we had treated as allies and equals, at peace with us, how could we have refused to negotiate with them, how could we have treated them as having no rights, as our subjects, and without consulting them reared a government to our liking, imposed it upon them and annexed the islands? We could not have so treated them and hidden our shame from ourselves, we could not have so treated them and convinced ourselves that we were not playing the role of despicable tyrants, we could not have dulled ourselves to conscience pricks, a halt would have been called upon our march into imperialism.

Our imperialists say that the Filipinos precipitated the fighting in the belief that it would induce the Senate to reject the treaty with Spain; we are inclined to believe that it was the other way round, that our annexationists precipitated the fighting, ordered Otis to precipitate it, to further their imperialistic plans.

THE military court appointed to inquire into the charges preferred by General Miles as to the general unfitness of the beef supplied the army during the Spanish war has returned its verdict finding that such charges are not sustained by the evidence. But public opinion that followed the proceedings of the court has also a verdict to render. It is that the findings of the court are not in accordance with the evidence. General Miles charged that the "canned roast beef" supplied the army in great quantities was an unfit ration, that in boiling the beef preparatory to canning, for it is boiled not roasted, much of the stimulating qualities were extracted thus leaving the meat unappetizing and, to the soldier in need of such stimulating qualities, indigestible and therefore not nutritive. If it could be prepared and eaten with other food the canned beef would be acceptable enough and with other food to stimulate digestion it would be fairly nutritious and sustaining food. But the army could not take it thus, it had to take it alone, eat it often without re-cooking, eat it when its appearance was repellant, when it was decidedly unappetizing, when the digestive functions were



especially in need of stimulant and when as a consequence such beef was indigestible and unnutritive. This was what the evidence before the Court of Inquiry showed, and though the court could not ignore the preponderance of this evidence and had to find the canned beef ration unfit it strove to tone down such evidence and generally exonerated all those responsible for its purchase, responsible for supplying this ration upon which men literally starved, save General Eagan who, already discredited and dishonored, can be quite safely kicked, made to carry the blame of others as well as his own, quite heavy enough of itself.

GENERAL MILES further charged that refrigerated beef supplied the army was subjected to preservative processes detrimental to the health of the troops eating it. And much evidence was submitted to sustain this charge; several officers testified to testing beef which they suspicioned and finding reactions for boric and salicylic acid, a letter was submitted to the court written by one of America's two greatest beef packing concerns to the War Department and urging that the contract for supplying the army with beef be given it as it had the exclusive use of a preservative process quite harmless to the beef and in no way dangerous to the health of those eating the beef, that no beef could be successfully supplied in the tropical countries unless treated with some preservative process. Here was the plain inference that the other great beef packer if given the contract for supplying the army might be expected to treat the beef to some preservative process, and a preservative process not so harmless, and this rival packing concern got the contract.

Yet the Court of Inquiry concludes that no preservative process was used as no employee of the concern came forward to tell of such process, give away the trade secrets of his employer! A most remarkable line of reasoning. And then it follows this up by reasoning that inasmuch as some officers inspecting the meat found no traces of any preservatives those officers who swore to the finding of such must have lied, thus opposing negative to positive evidence just as if the fact that no preservative was found in one side of beef examined was evidence that there was no preservative used in any other, and that the officers who reported finding such preservatives in other sides must have been mistaken. So the court declared that the charge of General Miles as to the use of preservatives in the beef supplied the army was not sustained and proceeded to mildly censure him for making such an unsubstantiated charge so detrimental to the reputation and injurious to the trade of the beef contractors, which censure passed, the court proceeded to turn a somersault and censure the General for not promptly reporting to the Secretary of War facts that it solemnly declares did not exist. If the court had sustained the charge of General Miles as to the use of preservatives this censure would have had reasonable foundation, but not having sustained such charge it had no foundation at all.

Finally, the court finds that the interests of the service will be best subserved by dropping the whole question without taking further proceedings against any one, the President has approved the findings and so the whole controversy, so far as official consideration is concerned, drops. And the public too will be prone to drop it, for the public is weary, wearied by long drawn out and fruitless investigations and Congress is not likely to reopen it before a Congressional investigating committee. Congress will have enough else to do to occupy its time.

RUMORS are going the rounds that we believe, know, to have foundation, of the early completion of plans that if successfully carried out will place all the trunk lines east of Chicago and north of the Ohio under one control, make them, for all effects and purposes, parts of one great system and thus put an end to competition between the railroads in the carriage of grain from Chicago to the

seaboard. In name, they will not be combined as one, the great systems, the New York Central, Pennsylvania, Baltimore & Ohio, will nominally maintain their separate existence and management, but all will, in fact, be subject to the same control. Thus we will have formed the greatest railroad trust of our history, thus will railroad competition in the New England states, in the country north of the Ohio and east of Chicago be at an end; then may rates be raised to a point where interest can be earned and paid on all the fictitious capital, all the watered securities of the railroads made a part of this combine; then will those in control see that such interest is earned and paid on the issues of securities in which they have holdings, while on those issues they want to buy, they will take good pains to see that interest is not earned and paid. And then to the full will we experience the evils of railroad overcapitalization, a capitalization never of service to industry, ever of positive injury to it, a capitalization the evil of which the New York *Tribune* thus explains:

"If a railroad require \$1,000,000 for construction, equipment and working capital, and \$1,000,000 be actually paid in and used for those purposes, then it has an honest capital of \$1,000,000, and its owners have a right to reasonable profits thereon, and are entitled, within certain bounds, to regulate their scale of charges and wages so as to secure such profits. But if in addition the owners issue \$1,000,000 more in certificates of stock, of which not a dollar is paid in, or sell it speculatively for cash and invest the proceeds in other enterprises, and then require that railroad to pay dividends on that additional \$1,000,000, what then? Why, they are simply demanding double profits on the actual capital, and if to secure them they raise their rates of fare or lower their scale of wages they are treating their passengers and employees unjustly."

AND this is just what the proposed railroad combine is being organized in part to do, squeeze greater tribute from the people to pay interest on fictitious capital that those controlling the combine may own in part. Other roads in the combine will be controlled with just an opposite end, the end of depressing not enhancing the value of their securities. Time enough to operate them to enhance the value when those in control have become owners of a share of the securities at the depressed values. And also will all the roads thus controlled and all the time be operated so as to foster those industries, build up the profits of those trusts in which those in control have an interest. By the allowing of freight rebates, by the conferring of gross advantage over rivals in the shape of reduced transportation rates this will be effectively accomplished. Thus will wealth be centralized, thus the railroads be used as an instrument for gathering the accumulations of the many into the hands of the few. In what will it end? Government ownership of the railroads, state socialism.

AND THEN there is the other powerful instrument availed of by the few to centralize the wealth gathered by the many, the banks in control of the respective cliques, to be considered. And even as there is combination of railroads and industrial plants there is combination of banks. By combination, by absorption of smaller banks two banks in New York controlled by the Standard Oil interests have grown until they have aggregate loans of more than \$200,000,000, until their loans amount to 30 per cent. of the loans of all the New York banks together. And two banks with such loans and controlled by the same interests are powerful engines of speculation. The control of such banks gives to the Standard Oil interests control over the markets. By causing such banks to contract their loans they can any day force liquidation on the stock exchange and so depress quotations. Hence these interests can and do trade in the Stock Exchange with loaded dice. They have the power to make the market move so that they will turn a profit. And thus does wealth centralize in their hands, in such gathering the banks they control are their instruments. And all this leads on to what? Inevitably to state socialism, to government banks.

THE Currency Committee appointed by the Republican caucus of the last House has not made public the results of its recent sessions at Atlantic City, but the bill that it drafted has been laid before the President and is said to meet his approval, as, indeed, it could not well help, if, as is generally understood, it is based on the recommendations of his messages to Congress and does not go beyond them. The committee, if reports bearing all the earmarks of authenticity can be credited, has drafted exactly the kind of bill that we anticipated it would. No comprehensive scheme is put forth but a plan having marked simplicity, "a potent factor in securing favorable consideration from a Congress by no means agreed upon any comprehensive and radical plan of currency reform," a plan resting on a few simple changes in our currency laws, containing provision requiring greenbacks redeemed in gold to be held in the Treasury as a special fund and only paid out in exchange for gold, a provision authorizing the issue of national bank notes up to the par value of the government bonds deposited as security, provision reducing the tax on bank currency, provision reducing the minimum capital requirement for national banks in small cities from \$50,000 to \$25,000, and this is all. We may expect to see an earnest effort made to put this measure through Congress, and if the new Speaker of the House who may be chosen proves anything like so capable as Mr. Reed such effort will in all probability succeed.

THE refusal of General Gregg to run for State Treasurer in Pennsylvania has thrown back the Quay politicians into a sea of uncertainty. They want the place for a machine man and want, by making the fight for a machine man, to win back for the machine its lost prestige. But still they feel the need of restoring harmony between the Republican factions, fear to make the upholding of the machine the issue of the campaign, fear that to brazenly go before the people in such a way as to make a vote for the Republican candidate for State Treasurer an endorsement of the machine would be to invite defeat, and so cause the machine to lose prestige rather than win lost prestige back. And so they are rent with conflicting emotions, sway between a desire to name a machine man for State Treasurer and fear that it would not be wise, feeling that wisdom demands that they heed those who counsel harmony, warn them against making a distinctively machine fight.

If the treasurership was the fat office and road to fortune that once it was perhaps their desires would triumph over their fears. But the State Treasury is empty, it has no great balances to put out on deposit with favorite banks, besides the State Treasurer is now required to put those deposits out at interest for the profit of the state and consequently such deposits are not the source of profit to State Treasurers as once they were when the banks paid interest, but paid it all into the pockets of the State Treasurers. Consequently the machine has not the regret in letting the nomination for State Treasurer go to someone outside that once it would have felt, and so in the interest of harmony it may let the nomination go outside this year.

PREACHING disarmament, the crushing burden, curse of great standing armies, Russia goes before the peace conference assembling at the Hague with a record of having increased her armament by a whole army corps, of having forced the burden, the curse of a standing army upon Finland since the issue of the famous Peace Rescript. Up to the present year Finland, though part of the Russian empire, enjoyed a semi-independent existence. Her two million and a half people managed their local affairs as they saw fit and without restraint of the Imperial government. They lived under laws of their own making, of their own enforcement; they taxed themselves for their own benefit as they saw fit, even their tariff system was independent of that of the Russian empire. They raised and supported a small militia of their own,

they were not burdened with supporting a great standing army or called upon to furnish recruits for such army as the Russian people; they had their own courts in which the procedure was conducted in the Finnish tongue, they had their own schools, they had their own parliament, they were independent of Russia in the management of their internal affairs, they were happy, contented, prosperous as a people placed in such rigid clime, on such barren soil could be.

But now all this is gone, Russia has taken from them their charter, Finland that before supported an army and that a territorial army not serving beyond her own borders of only 5,600 men is called upon to maintain a Russian army corps of 36,000 men, an army corps that may be sent on service to any part of the Russian empire, an army corps that means the compulsory military service of all her able bodied sons as they come to manhood, means that after they have served their time they shall not, during the best years of their lives, be at liberty to move where inclination calls them or chances for labor beckon but must tie themselves down to fixed localities from which they cannot move without the permission of the military authorities of Russian appointment and hold themselves ready for further military service. So there is lamentation in Finland for the Fins are no longer free. The power to resist they have not and they know it, their petitions, their protests fall unheeded, their only escape from oppression is in expatriation and hundreds, thousands are leaving the land of their birth to seek homes in British Canada and the states of our northwest.

TRouble is brewing in South Africa. It seems that Britain set on extending her dominion over the Transvaal, on trampling out the right of the Boers to exist as an independent people and rule themselves, on wiping out the Transvaal Republic and once for all stifle the dreams that the Dutch of South Africa have of some day rearing a Dutch republic that will rule over Africa from the Cape to the Zambesi, is again prepared to embark on one of her little wars waged in the name of imperialism.

Two centuries and a half ago the Dutch settled in the Cape. Later the British took the colonies planted by the Dutch and British colonists began to settle alongside the earlier Dutch settlers, to develop the country with them side by side. To many of the descendants of the Dutch British rule became so intolerable sixty odd years ago that to escape it and enjoy the boon of liberty, live under laws of their own making, the Boers abandoned their homes, went off to the northwards in search of a land where they could settle and be free. Finally they settled in the Transvaal, a grazing country, far from fertile, rather forbidding to the settler and where they thought they could live undisturbed. Indeed such country showed no signs of a great wealth such as to excite the cupidity of the adventurer, the greed of the British for empire.

Until in the late seventies they were let alone, in their isolation they were not disturbed. Then the British of the Cape fancied they saw danger to themselves in the natives of the Transvaal and on the plea of preventing an uprising of such natives they occupied the country. A few years later the Boers, tired of this occupation, wondering why it did not cease when all pretext for it was of the past, rose in arms. Bloodshed followed, the Boers showed the stuff of which they were made, showed that they were no foe to be despised and peace was patched up only, however, to be broken by British aggression and invasion, ending in British defeat three years later. This was in 1884. It was Disraeli who forced this war, but his ministry soon fell thereafter and Gladstone recognizing the war as one of criminal aggression made a peace under which Britain recognized the right of the Boers to manage all their internal affairs as an independent people, by which the Boers recognized a general suzerainty of Britain which conferred upon Britain a control of the relations between



the Transvaal Republic and the outside world. And again were the Boers left undisturbed to manage their own affairs in peace.

BUT the discovery of hidden riches in the Transvaal, discovery of deposits of gold, came to break the peaceful prospect. The temptation to searchers after fortune to take up abode in the Transvaal, temptation before lacking was present. To the disgust of the Boers foreigners, Uitlanders, began to drift into the republic in an ever increasing stream. Such immigration the Boers did not encourage, they cared not for such population in their midst. But with the gold fields beckoning on the seeker after fortune there was no checking this immigration. The Boers regarded it with foreboding, feared that it presaged loss of independence, feared that soon they could not live under their own laws, that they would have to live under laws of Uitlanders' making. So they imposed stringent naturalization laws, required a long residence of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal before conferring upon them the suffrage, hoping that after such long residence such immigrants would cease to be Uitlanders in customs and spirit, become Boers in spirit though not in blood, and so not be disposed to use their suffrages for the welfare of the Uitlanders, of Britain rather than of the Boers and the Transvaal Republic.

So it happens that the Uitlanders have been through a long period of probation kept from exercising any voice in the government of the Transvaal. But as owners of property they have been taxed, and under taxation without representation they have chafed, feeling that the taxes of the republic have been imposed so as to do them injustice.

Besides, in their not unnatural desire to maintain the individuality of their country, the Boers have sought, as we would say, to Americanize, Transvaalize the immigrants. But at thus assimilating the Uitlander population the Boers have proven poor hands. Rather have all their efforts resulted in but engendering antipathy. Thus the requirements that the schools be taught in the tongue of Boers or the taal dialect, that the proceedings in the courts be conducted in such tongue, have served anything but their intended purpose. So the Boers and the Uitlanders have not drawn together with years, but drawn apart and so have mutual dislikes and grievances grown. And with this feeling growing the Uitlanders have doubtless been subjected to numerous petty annoyances at the hands of the Boers that in the aggregate are nigh past bearing. At any rate the Uitlanders are ready to revolt, take by force the government of the Transvaal into their own hands, virtually turn the Boers out of their own country, make them foreigners in their own land. We do not blame the Uitlanders, we pity the Boers.

BUT the Uitlanders alone are powerless. They recognize that they cannot, unaided, successfully fight the Boers. So they call upon Britain for aid, petition the British Government to force the Boers to grant to them the right of suffrage. They ask to be accorded the privileges of burgers while at the same time laying claim to protection as British citizens. They demand recognition as full citizens of the Transvaal Republic while refusing to give their allegiance to such Boer Republic. And Britain responds to this petition practically claiming the right to dictate the naturalization laws of the Transvaal Republic. And at this the Boers are up in arms. President Kruger insists that the Transvaal is entitled to its opinion as to what is for the best interests of the Republic. "If you come to live among us," say the Boers to the Uitlanders, "you must live according to our laws, look to our laws for protection of your rights, not to England, and accept the protection that they accord." Such is the reasoning of the Boers and it is sound. But in their country has been found gold that other peoples crave, they are not so progressive,

so energetic as the Uitlanders who have come among them in search of that gold and not being so progressive they fall behind in the race, the Uitlanders outstrip them, threaten to appropriate their country, rule where Boers now rule.

So it seems to be fated. Perhaps the Boers, brave and simple people as they are, inured to a rugged life and the use of the rifle, will fight to the death those who in the inexorable march of progress come to deprive them of their heritage or rather a heritage that the Boers themselves took from negro races who still constitute the major portion of the population of the Transvaal, a country about as large as the states of New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey combined and now supporting a Boer population of about 200,000 souls, a Uitlander population of about 80,000 persons and perhaps as many as 400,000 negroes. And if the Boers thus fight the fate that seems to hang inexorably over them, there will be bloody war though on a small scale, there will be a race war in the Transvaal and a race war that may spread over the Cape. For such war between Boers and English in the Transvaal cannot fail to embitter the relations between the colonists of Dutch and English descent in the Cape.

Here we may remark that the Dutch party is now in the ascendancy in the Cape Parliament. A year ago the elections went against the Rhodes or rabid pro-British anti-Boer party, and after a campaign in which the Rhodes party declared that the question of British supremacy was the real issue and denounced the opposition and successful party as disloyal to the British connection. This charge, Mr. Schreiner, leader of the then opposition, now premier, resented, declaring that his party was as loyal to Britain as the Rhodes party, but that they wanted to live at peace with the Boer Republic, wanted to build up harmony between Dutch and English in the cape, not live at war. And only lately at some by elections made necessary by the passage of a redistribution bill, the party of Schreiner was successful, much more markedly successful than in the general elections of a year ago. Yet it is the Rhodes party, the party that backed the Jamison raid, that has the ear of the Home government and dictates the policy of the Imperial government in regard to the Cape. And so in spite of the opposition of the Schreiner government we have to look for the precipitation of a Transvaal war that cannot fail to embitter the relations of Dutch and English colonists at the Cape, perhaps lead the Dutch to regret the British connection, indeed, even make true the charge of disloyalty preferred by the Rhodes party and so lately resented.

#### IS IT TO BE A REPUBLICAN WALKOVER IN 1900?

THE SILVER alliances of 1896 are broken; the Democratic party is at peace not even with itself; the Republican party rides upon the top of a wave that, if unbroken, must carry it to success in 1900,—not because of any strength inherent in itself but because of the weakness of all opposition.

Such is the political situation. Fair is the prospect of success before the Republican party. Who can break the towering wave upon which it rides on towards victory?

The oncoming wall of that wave is threateningly abrupt. In that wave there are no signs of stability. It is top-heavy with corruption at the top; if it meets any serious obstacle it will break. Yet if that obstacle is not reared before it, it will carry the Republican party to success in 1900 with all its corruption, all its weakness.

Who then can rear that obstacle, the obstacle that will cause the oncoming and seemingly irresistible wave upon which the Republican party rides forward in overbearing splendor and confidence to topple and break? The Democratic party cannot rear it, for the Democratic party is riding tumultuously along on

a wave running in the same direction, keeping pace with the Republican party as a servant of plutocracy. Thus, even as the Republican, does the Democratic party ride along under the guidance of a corrupt machine. Therefore it cannot rear that obstacle that will cause the wave of corruption upon which the Republican party floats along towards victory to break, for the wave that it rides upon itself is even so corrupt, even so inherently weak, even so ready to topple and to fall.

The same obstacle that will cause the wave upon which the Republican party rides to break must equally bring down the Democratic party with a crash. That obstacle will involve them both in the same debacle, that obstacle can alone be reared by a party opposed to a rule of plutocracy, whose cardinal tenet is rule of, by and for the people and that lives up to what it preaches. That party showing by its declarations, showing by its teachings, showing by its acts that it stands for human rights and opposed to plutocratic rule, that it cannot be swerved from its devotion to principle by the arts of the corrupter or the promise of offices, can rear such obstacle as will cause the waves of corruption upon which both old parties float to break and carry down such parties to defeat while over their ruins is carried to power the party promising to banish a rule of corruption from the fair western continent, substitute a rule of the people and showing by its bearing that its promises are not mere empty words.

Three years ago many earnest men, tired of a rule of the few through the arts of the corrupter, fancied they saw in the Democracy a party through which the banishment of the rule of corruption in our politics, the overthrow of the power of money, of rule in the interest of the few might be accomplished, and they turned to the Democratic party with the result that in spite of the desertion of between two and three million Democrats, swayed by the plutocratic influences in the party, it polled more votes than it ever did before. But these earnest men who rejoiced when the silver Democracy triumphed over the gold forces at Chicago, who went to the support of that party and gave their votes to Mr. Bryan, have since come to see that the Democratic party has not freed itself from but continued under the guidance of its corrupt machine, that its promises are but empty words, that the machine that guides it has more care for the interests of plutocracy than the interests of the people, that nothing can be hoped for in the way of emancipation from rule by corruption and in the interest of plutocracy from the success of such a party. And so this party they refuse to longer follow, so the wave of Republicanism travels ever faster forward from very dissipation of opposition.

Yet this wave that sweeps the Republican party on towards success is more ready to break than ever. Only let something be raised that the people can regard as serious and that by its unquestioned opposition to corrupt rule, which means plutocratic rule, will attract the support of honest men, and the force of this wave will be broken, the following of the Republican and Democratic parties, both standing for the same thing in politics, will alike melt away, both will go down together in defeat. But if serious opposition to the Republican party lies in such as the Democratic may offer, the Republican party will ride on to success. To the earnest voter tired of a rule of corruption there is offered as between the Republican and Democratic parties but a choice of evils, a choice of wrongs. To vote for either is to vote for a perpetuation of injustice, for inequality, for a rule in the interest of the few, the profitters from special privileges, and regardless of the welfare of the many. Therefore they will vote for neither. There may be many deserters from the Republican party, but they will have no incentive to join the Democratic party, no more incentive than the many earnest men who went to the Democratic party in 1896, but refuse to follow it longer, will have to go to the Republican. And the body of earnest men awake to the evils of plutocratic rule and alarmed at the progress being made towards fastening such rule upon our people did go

to the Democratic party in 1896. So the Democratic party stands to lose more than the Republican party, lose more from the very fact that because of the accretion of Populists and silver Republicans it contained more men awake to the plutocratic rule of corruption growing upon us than the Republican. Populists and silver Republicans as a body went to the Democratic party in 1896. They will not go with it again.

If then the fight is to be made successfully against the Republican party in 1900 who must make it? The Democratic party rent with dissension, friend of evil, upholder of wrong, abettor of the moneyed oligarchy, protector of special privileges, cannot. The Peoples party, if it show itself to be all that which the Republican and Democratic parties are not, show itself to be friend of the people, uprooter of wrong, enemy of plutocracy and special privileges, defender of equal opportunities and democratic rule, and finally show itself to be so united and earnest as to give promise of leading with success, promise that votes of earnest men given to it will not be worse than thrown away, can make this fight, can defeat the Republican party in 1900, can banish plutocratic and restore democratic rule, banish corruption and restore honesty in our government. But if the Peoples party cannot show this unity, cannot be and cannot show that it is at peace with itself, then it cannot make this fight, for men ready to break away from the old parties because tired of plutocratic rule will feel that it would be useless to give such party their votes, that a party unable to organize its own forces, unable to keep peace in its own ranks, unable to unite on common aims and fight on common and therefore effective lines can never lead with success, that to put dependence in it to overthrow plutocratic rule would be folly, that to stake one's fortunes to it would be but to invite disaster. And men feeling thus will either stay with the old parties that it may cost them much, socially and materially, to leave, and which cost in social ostracism or loss of position or business or credit they will not invite unless they see the promise of gain, the promise of ridding their country of plutocratic rule in doing so, or they will leave the old parties not to join the Peoples party but to build up a new.

But all these men the Peoples party can attract to itself by showing that it has faith in itself and showing that it is worthy of the trust of others, that it can be depended upon to stand firm by its principles, organize its forces effectively and fight uncompromisably for the rights of man, for the preservation of democratic government. And all this Populists can readily show. They have but to keep clear of all thought of fusion, spurn all suggestion that they cast to one side principle for office, and thus show they have firm faith in their principles, that they are upright and honest in their declarations, that they are worthy of the trust of others; they have but to organize in precinct clubs under the Cincinnati plan and thereby show an effective organization, show by recognition of the right of the people to rule within the party that they are in earnest in fighting for the preservation of a government of, by and for the people, show by the thoroughness of such organization that they will make the most of their forces, as effective a fight as it is possible to make and a fight that cannot fail to win if those in the old parties alienated by the corruption of party machines and impatient to rid the country of plutocratic rule, rule by the few and for the few, will come to their support. And then they will win, for then such support will come.

For with all its appearance of overweening strength the Republican party is inherently weak, its burdens are grievously heavy. Much that it cannot excuse it has to explain. It has to run under the handicap of the recent great growth of trusts that has been appalling to a great part of our people and which growth it has done naught to stop so that whatever promises it may now make, whatever fake remedies it may offer, it will be held to accountability by thousands of voters for permitting such growth. And again, men have been denied equal opportunities by our



railroads, been driven out of business by freight discriminations, and their plants and accumulations been swept from them to the profit of the speculative cliques. They have witnessed the closing of paths to advancement and worldly accumulation by means of industry and honest enterprise and seen great centralization of wealth in the hands of those who stoop to ways of dishonesty, who overcapitalize railroads and industrial plants, who defraud the confiding investor by tempting him through false appearances of value and reports of earnings to part with good money for securities representing no real investment of capital, who secure to themselves freight rebates and so an advantage over rivals, often ending in giving them a monopoly over markets, by the bribery of railroad officials. And men who feel and see all this injustice, see this denial to the honest and industrious of equal opportunities for wealth accumulation with the dishonest and scheming, feel that there is an unjust, dishonest distribution of the wealth produced, that the industrious do not profit as the result of their toil as they should, but in large part toil for the profit of men who, without right or justification, save that which the power of money and bribery gives, have laid claim to the enjoyment of various exclusive privileges, and men who have followed the Republican party begin to question what claim a party that has permitted all this has to their votes. And men in such questioning mood the following of the Republican party is ready to melt away the moment a party giving confidence that it stands for exact quality, for equal opportunities for all, for exact justice appears upon the field.

Thus is the Republican party weak, thus must it be at a decided disadvantage in the fight of 1900, if earnestly fought by a party of equality, standing for government by and for the people as against plutocratic rule. Thus is it exceedingly vulnerable, but not to a party as vulnerable as itself. And thus vulnerable is the Democratic party. The Republican party stands for evil for inequality and so is vulnerable, but it cannot be fought successfully by a party standing for like evil, a party whose lips are closed to the exposure of such evil because it cannot call attention to such evils, to the crying abuses and injustice in our transportation system, in our taxation system, aye, even in our monetary system, without accusing itself.

A year ago Mr. Bryan was striving to hold Populists to the Democratic alliance by showing that the aims of Democrats and Populists were in great part common and that therefore Populists could most successfully further their aims by supporting the Democratic party. In this effort he naturally failed most miserably. He only succeeded in showing how far Democrats and Populists are apart and how impossible fusion of Populists with the Democratic party is save with dishonor. The great error Mr. Bryan made was in assuming that the fusion Populist who thought more of success than principle spoke for the body of Populists, was a fair expositor of Populist beliefs. And so the result of Mr. Bryan's efforts was not to draw Populists nearer to the Democratic party but to draw the lines of demarkation more sharply between them.

He set forth that Democrats and Populists were in accord on the monetary question, that they demanded free silver coinage and opposed the retirement of the greenbacks. And this was true enough, but elaboration showed how far apart Democrats and Populists really were on the monetary question, showed how radical were their differences, from what different standpoints they approached the question and in what different ways and with what different results they would pursue it. True, both demanded free silver coinage but Democrats demanded it as rather a finality, as the king point of their reform efforts; Populists as a mere step to get out of a bad hole into which we have fallen by making innumerable of our obligations payable in coin, gold or silver, of certain specified weight and fineness.

Chiefly as the result of the demonetization of silver and the restriction of the supply of coin the value of gold coins and of

such silver coins as were put in circulation rose very considerably over the value of coin of like weight and fineness at the time we incurred such obligations. Strict justice requires that such obligations be paid in coins of like value with the coins we contracted to pay. Ostrich like, we had fancied that we had secured this by writing into the obligations that they should be met in coins of the same weight and fineness of metal as those of the coinage at the time of incurring such coin obligations. It never occurred to our bull-headed Congressmen, save it be those who may have had knowledge of the schemes of those holding our national obligations and were obedient servitors of such public creditors, that the value of these coins might change as it was changed by legislation and without any change of their weight and fineness. But having by our unwisdom opened the way to an increase in the value of our coins and having made all our national obligations originally contracted in paper payable in coin of certain specified weights and fineness it behooves us to restore to our coins the value they had when such obligations were contracted so that we may meet such obligations according to the spirit as well as letter of the contract we unwisely entered into when we made our paper obligations payable in coin. So Populists demand the free coinage of silver that we may have a free hand to supply ourselves with dollars of the kind we obligated ourselves to pay thirty years ago. To restrict ourselves to a certain kind of dollars and they a more valuable dollar than those we agreed to pay is to tax the whole people to pay the bondholders more than we agreed to pay. And this is not just, it is injustice.

So that justice may be done do Populists demand the opening of our mints to free silver coinage. But they demand it as only one step of the monetary reform they contemplate. That reform in its completeness is the establishment of a dollar of unchanging value, a dollar that will measure fluctuations in the value of gold and of silver as of other things, a dollar of such unvarying stability that men can make contracts in terms of dollars with the absolute assurance that neither one party or the other to a money contract will be defrauded through changes in the value of the dollars, the units in which such contracts are written. And that dollar must of course be a paper dollar, over the supply of which the government can exercise absolute control, for it is only through regulation of the supply of dollars that government can regulate their value.

And here appears the wide divergence between the monetary doctrine held by Mr. Bryan and that held by Populists. He would make all paper money redeemable in coin, and hence regulate the supply of money by the supply of gold and silver coins. Hence the government would not have power to regulate the supply of dollars, so regulate their value and so establish a monetary standard of exact justice. Populists on the other hand would not make paper money redeemable in coin, the greenback they would issue would not be a promise of the government to pay coin but a promise to receive it at its face for all taxes and public dues, and hence they would not be restrained in their issue of greenbacks by the supply of coin and by ability to redeem, but would ever be free to issue enough to meet growing demands, to keep the dollar of stable purchasing power and secure to all men engaged in honest industry the inestimable boon of an honest monetary standard by which to measure the value of their products, distribute the wealth produced, settle their debts.

Thus do we have Mr. Bryan's idea of a greenback—a promise to pay, and in direct antithesis the Populist idea, a promise to receive.

Again did Mr. Bryan strive to show that Democrats and Populists were in accord in opposition to trusts. He only succeeded in showing the marked divergence of the views they hold in regard thereto, in setting forth in relief the fact that the Democrats have nothing to offer, no effective plan for giving expression to their declared opposition to trusts, that in opposing the nationalization of our railroads they stand against the re-

moval of the great breeder of trusts, railroad discrimination, that the Peoples party alone makes opposition to trusts in a business-like way. So, also, were we told of Democrats as Populists being in favor of an income tax and that this was ground for their union. But the Democrats while urging an income tax vote taxes on articles of common consumption, on sugar and tea, tobacco and beer that amount to per capita taxes, that fall as far short of the measure of just taxation set by Populists as taxes possibly can.

So it is that the Populists drew apart from the Democrats a year ago in spite of all Mr. Bryan's efforts to draw them together. And now comes evidence that the silver Republicans who supported Mr. Bryan in 1896, supported him to the number of at least a million votes, are drawing away. It is true that Senator Teller declares himself for a continuance of the alliance of 1896, declares his belief that the silver Republicans will follow the fortunes of the Democratic party in 1900 as they did in 1896. Also is it true that Senator Pettigrew echoes the belief of Mr. Teller. But in the Rocky Mountain states, particularly the inter-mountain states, the silver Republicans have been treated most shabbily by their Democratic allies. By the aid of such Republicans such states have been carried by the Democrats, and the Republicans who left their party to give victory to the Democrats have been left out in the cold. So much bitterness of feeling has been engendered.

Moreover, the record made by the Democracy in those states has been a most sorry one. They have held the reins of government for the weal of party not of states, selfishness not the general welfare has been most prominent as their guiding star, in the legislatures of two of the states where United States Senators were to be elected corruption ran rampant. And the Senators of these two states whose terms were expiring were both silver Republicans who had thrown in their lot with the Democracy, a Democracy that with a short-sighted ingratitude refused to renew the term of either. At the hands of the Democracy a cuff was their reward.

All this has brought a change of feeling that moves the Salt Lake *Tribune*, leading silver Republican paper of the Inter-mountain country in 1896, to thus declare itself:—

"Senator Teller says the silver Republicans, he believes, are still as true as they were in 1896, to the cause which they held and hold as most essential to the best interests of the American people. We believe that Senator Teller is mistaken. We know of no one who was a silver man in earnest in 1896 who is not now, but we know the feeling of silver men in Colorado, in Utah, in Idaho, in Nevada and in Montana. Silver men who all their lives were Republicans until 1896, gave up for the time being the principles of a lifetime to support what seemed to them a most vital question. But they do not feel as they did in 1896, for the reason that in each one of these states named the Democracy has demonstrated, that so far as they are concerned they are hardly capable of self-government, to say nothing about governing this nation. We defy any honest man to point to what the Democracy has done in Utah since they won their great triumph in 1896, to give ordinary people encouragement to believe that if they had full power in the nation they would even desire to do the right thing by the people. It is a party seeking chiefly petty spoils, and it would take a very brave man to recommend men who have all their lives been Republicans to support their ticket.

"Mr. Bryan, personally, is a very splendid man, a very patriotic man. We believe he has no less noble thought than to wish to have the things readjusted which now are wrong. We believe he is sincere in his desire to have silver remonetized, to have the trusts throttled, to break down the barriers which concentrated wealth has raised between the people and the interest-gatherers, to protect the latter. But in this state, and this is but a sample, we have seen two legislatures in session in absolute control of the party, and the way they handled their trust is enough to make one weary of all kinds of trusts. But that is only part of the business. With the money we have borrowed and with the proceeds of two or three great crops, with the yield from mines, and with the money put in circulation by the war, it is

true that every form of industry in Utah is prospering. More men are being employed than ever before. In our limited market farmers are obtaining good prices for their products. The tariff helps the stock men exceedingly, and it is characteristic of the American people that when they are doing well, they will not vote for a change. Then in the coffers of the East there are millions and tens and tens of millions of dollars, and those who own those dollars rather than to see their purchasing power reduced by restoring free silver coinage, will spend anywhere from eight to ten millions on a presidential election, and that is sufficient to carry a majority of the electoral votes."

This is a pessimistic view enough to take, and then we have this conclusion, all on the assumption that the silver Republicans will have nothing better to do in 1900 than to go back to the Republican party:—

"We know not, of course, what the next twelve months will bring about, but if the campaign was to-day and the election was to come in November, if there is anything in the signs of the times at all, Mr. Bryan would lose a full million of the votes that he polled in 1896, and the opposition would poll one and one-half millions more than it polled in 1896."

But if the Populists organize to make an earnest fight in 1900, silver Republicans will have something better than a choice of evils, something better than a choice between the corrupt Democracy and the plutocratic serving Republican party. They will have the opportunity of supporting a live party teaching the republicanism of Lincoln, standing for the preservation of a government of, by and for the people, holding forth the promise of success; the opportunity of casting their votes where they will count effectively for good government, for the overthrow of plutocratic rule. And with this opportunity presented to them the majority of silver Republicans will not long hesitate over their course. They will join the Peoples party. There will be a million and a half more votes polled by the opposition to the Democracy than in 1896, and because of the change of sentiment overcoming silver Republicans, but the opposition that will poll that million and a half of votes will not be the Republican but the Peoples party. Indeed if Populists do their duty the real opposition to the Republican party in 1900 will be the Peoples party.

Of course all silver Republicans will not thus join the Peoples party in 1900 if Populists by their energy in organizing encourage them thereto, for some few of such Republicans are advocates of free silver from selfish and personal reasons only and have no desire to overthrow a plutocratic rule from which they do or hope in some way to profit. But the great majority of silver Republicans are not such.

Echoing the thoughts of the Salt Lake *Tribune*, the *Pocatello (Idaho) Tribune* remarks:

"We know that the *Tribune* editorial expresses the sentiments of many of the silver Republicans of Idaho. Democratic unfaith and treachery have made in vain the great sacrifice they made. They have been forced to recognize that the Democratic party is wholly selfish; that it has ever regarded the spoils of office as of infinitely more importance than the success of the silver cause. But worse than even that, the Democracy has proven itself utterly incompetent to deal with public affairs.

"This is plain talk but it is impossible for honest men to longer lull themselves with illusions. The hope of accomplishing anything for silver through the Democracy seems vain. Every opportunity which the Silver Republicans of Idaho have made for the Democrats, whereby they might have proven their sincerity and really strengthened the silver cause, has been turned aside in order to make way for some petty party advantage. Every effort of honest men for the furtherance of silver has been turned to the strengthening of the hands of a treacherous and incompetent Democracy.

"It is not that the men of Idaho are any less sincere in their advocacy of silver, but that they are much less confident of the Democracy than they were three years ago. The Democracy had its opportunity and it misused it. Everywhere it has treated



loyal allies as hereditary enemies; everywhere it has stabbed silver to strengthen Democracy. Great as has been the splendor of its leader, the bonds of a traditional niggardliness of opinion and incompetence of authority has fettered the limbs of the Democracy and made it go lame."

"These facts confront silver men. The Democracy, by its own actions, has deprived them of the hope of accomplishing anything for silver through the Democratic party. They are forced to the conclusion that the Democracy desires only to rise by their aid and then disown that aid. Tried and respected silver leaders are thrown down and crude figures of clay set in their places—not for the furtherance of the silver cause, but selfishly and for Democratic glory alone. The men who, in 1896, sacrificed party for a principle, have been forced to see that with the Democracy that principle is only a hollow mockery, and as the *Tribune* says: 'They do not feel as they did in 1896.'"

So the Democratic party stands to lose much of its voting strength of 1896 in 1900. It stands to lose two million of Populist votes, one million, or even more, of Silver Republican votes cast for Mr. Bryan in 1896.

Is it then to be a Republican walkover in 1900? Not if Populists organize their party. Otherwise, yes.

Of those who voted the Democratic ticket in 1896 three millions, or nearly one-half of the whole Democratic vote, three millions representing Populists and Silver Republicans, will not again go with the Democracy. And without this great vote what will the Democracy do? Will it cling to free silver, or will it abandon such issue, nestle up closer with the moneyed interests and with the financial assistance they have to give seek to win back the Democrats, two millions or thereabouts, who went with the Republican party in 1896? If signs do not mislead it will seek to win back those Democrats who broke away from their party in 1896. By winning them back, thus weakening the Republican vote, it can put itself much upon an equal footing with the Republican party, make a fair bid for victory. So reason its leaders, so reason its place hunters.

But there are Democrats as there are Republicans awakening to the fact that their parties are upholding plutocratic rule, there are Democrats as there are Republicans ready to break away from their parties the moment they see a party by going to which they can make an effective protest against the continuance of plutocratic rule, aye, uproot it and rear in its place a government of the people. If Populists organize for an effective and earnest campaign those Democrats and Republicans will see such party in the Peoples and to its banners they will flock, the Republican and Democratic parties will go down together to defeat in one grand surprising debacle, the Peoples party will march on to victory over their ruins, plutocratic rule will be stamped out on this fair continent, democratic government be restored.

#### THE GROWTH AND EVILS OF TRUSTS.

SOME years ago it became the custom of those leaders of industries who conceived the idea of getting rid of competition and enhancing their profits by raising prices to constitute themselves trustees and as such take over the management and control of their separate plants and businesses and also the properties of such smaller fry as could be induced by the hope of greater profit or browbeaten by the fear of loss into throwing in their lot with the pool. These trustees then issued trust certificates in lieu of the stock certificates of the different corporations taken into the trust and handed into the keeping of the trustees. Thus as trustees they virtually held title to all the property of the different corporations and they managed all the properties as one, held them all and worked them all in trust for the benefit of the holders of the trust certificates.

These trust certificates entitled the holders to a certain percentage of the total property held in trust. Of course, all properties taken into a trust were taken in at an appraised valuation and

trust certificates issued in accordance with the percentage that such valuation bore to the aggregate valuation of the properties taken in. Thus when the owner of one property, or the holder of capital stock of one corporation gave it over in trust into the hands of the trustees he received not trust certificates certifying that such particular property was held in trust for him but that a certain percentage of all the properties in the hands of the trustees was so held in trust. In short, instead of being sole or part owner in one corporation he became part owner in all entering the trust. He put his property into one common pool, agreed to take his proportionate share of the aggregate earnings of all the properties and in the event of the winding up of the trust he would get back not his original property, but a part ownership in all the properties going into the trust. Interests thus pooled, certain properties might be altogether shut down at the discretion of the trustees and yet the former owners of such properties receive a greater dividend than they ever earned from the independent operation of such properties. If the shutting down of such properties and the consequent restriction of supply so raised prices that the profits made at those plants operated exceeded the aggregate profits of all plants when in operation independently, selling at lower prices and running on a smaller margin of profit, this was indeed inevitable.

And it was to bring about just this that the earlier trusts were formed. By shutting down some plants and restricting production they sought at one and the same time to enlarge profits by pressing down wages, by narrowing the demand for labor and so increasing the competition among laborers for work, and, secondly, by raising prices by so restricting the supply as to make competition among buyers more active.

As the crop of trusts so operating increased, they naturally incurred more and more the enmity of the public. This naturally led to efforts at repressive legislation, trusts were almost universally declared to be illegal, proceedings were brought in many states to force their dissolution.

This led to the trusts changing their form. Under the laws of some state they incorporated, started forth on a continuance of their career and with the same purposes. They only changed in outward form and legal name. The popular name of trusts still clung to them and still clings to all corporations organized to effect a combination of industrial plants previously independent and with a view to getting rid of competition. Thus for some time it was sought to get around the various anti-trust laws, but this fiction the Illinois Supreme Court exploded when in its decision in the case of the former Whiskey Trust that sought to avoid the penalties of the law by incorporation it declared:—"There is no magic in the corporate organization which can purge the trust scheme of its illegality, and it remains as essentially opposed to the principles of sound public policy as when the Trust was in existence. It was illegal before (incorporation) and is illegal still and for the same reasons." And it is only within a few days that the Missouri Supreme Court took similar ground in holding the anti-trust law of that state was applicable to the company, popularly known as the Lead Trust.

Indeed, under the common law all the great industrial trusts could properly be declared illegal as combinations in restraint of trade and working injury to the general public. But none the less the making of such trusts under corporate title goes on at an astonishing and never before equalled rate, the corporate lawyers defending them on the ground that they are not organized with a view to the restraint of trade, with a view to getting rid of competition and enhancing profits by raising prices, but with the expectation of enlarging profits through economizing the costs of production in a way only possible in a great combination, where production and distribution is on such a gigantic scale that the industry can be systematized in every branch, everything be laid out by clockwork down to the smallest minutiae and division and hence saving

of labor be carried to a degree quite impossible of attainment in the ordinary establishment.

So it is argued that these great modern day trusts do not work injury but advantage to the general public, their increased profits being not the result of tribute squeezed from the public in the shape of enhanced prices but the result of savings in production. And there is just enough truth in this contention to give it plausibility. But the cold facts show that many of the recently formed combinations, as many of their older fore-runners, have raised prices very materially to the consumer and without according an advance of wages commensurate with such rise. The New York *Tribune* cites many examples, finding fault with those producers who are protected by high tariff duties from foreign competition and who have combined to stifle home competition and shove up prices on the consumer. It sees very clearly that such action, such use of the protective duties to exact tribute from consumers endangers the whole protective system. That system is aimed to foster domestic competition, free our consumers from dependence on foreign producers, and the effect of such stimulus given to home industry and the resulting competition has been generally to bring down prices.

A recent striking illustration of this has been in the tin plate industry. Nine years ago we produced no tin plate, bought all we used. The Welsh tin plate manufacturers had a monopoly of supplying our markets and they made the most of it. Then the McKinley tariff was passed putting a high duty on tin plate. The Wilson bill did not take it off in entirety, only cut down the rate. The first effect of this protective tariff duty was the raising of the price of tin plate. Then followed wonderful development of the industry in America, competition was free, production was much cheapened, soon the American consumer was getting tin plate for a much smaller price than he had ever been able to get it for before. By the development of the industry at home he was freed from dependence on the foreign producer, the tariff on tin plate proved protective of the interests of the American consumer as well as of the producer.

But now comes a change. An American tin plate trust is formed, it puts an end to competition and behind the shelter of the Dingley tariff it puts up prices. Other producers of iron and steel products have done much the same. The copper combine has come in for much criticism on a similar score. But says the *Tribune* referring to an observation of the *Iron Age* that producers of iron and steel are not altogether without blame in this respect:—

"It would seem not. For instance, wire nails are quoted at \$2.10, against \$1.25 last December, an advance of 68 per cent., which is considerably more than the rise in copper. The public castigation of the milder sinner is not readily explained. Cut nails have advanced since January 1st about 63 per cent. Bar iron at Pittsburg has advanced about 58 per cent. Tank steel plates at Philadelphia have advanced about 76 per cent. In some respects the worst sinner of all is the tin plate combination, which has advanced prices from \$2.55 for hundred pound boxes to \$4.05, or 59 per cent., because the industry owes its very existence to the help given it by duties on imports, and sets up the foreign price of tin as an excuse, though the tin makes but a small fraction of the cost, and has risen since December 1st only 40 per cent."

It may be added that the iron upon which the tin is plated has also advanced considerably in price but probably the rise in the price of materials entering into production of tin plate does not all told make up one-third of the advance in the price of the finished product. And also in fairness it must be said that wages have been advanced ten per cent. though this, although offered as such by the trust, can scarcely be accepted as a satisfactory explanation of the rise in tin plate, after allowance is made for the increased cost of raw products, of more than thirty per cent.

In short the tin plate combine has taken advantage of its monopoly to enhance its profits by forcing up prices under the shelter of the tariff.

Thus is it using the tariff imposed to foster domestic competition, imposed to benefit the American consumer to levy tribute upon him. And this causes the *Tribune*, ever with a care for the protective tariff, to cry out warningly to all such combines: "It is not exactly the right time to be milking the country to the last drop in order to realize quick and big profits for works largely established by aid of its laws." If you do you will run the risk of upsetting all your apple carts for "there is coming a time when such advances in price will be publicly discussed as evidence that the national policy of protection has placed consumers at the mercy of all sorts of combinations which show no sense of regard for the public welfare." It might have added if you must milk the country to the last drop, do not leave the milking for the very year before a presidential election, commence earlier in the term, stop the milking process before the ball of a presidential campaign is set rolling, give the people time to forget.

If the Republicans had adopted the Pettigrew amendment to the Dingley tariff making provision for the transfer to the free list of all articles the home production of which should become monopolized by trusts or combines they would have been saved the necessity of making difficult explanations; if they would save the protective tariff they must themselves take the initiative in proposing an amendment having the effect of the Pettigrew anti-trust amendment and so disarm their opponents.

It may be suggested that a raising of prices by a trust or combine and with the result of swelling profits must naturally increase profits for those outside, thus encourage men to embark in production independently of such trust, thus lead to more competition and so an enhancement of prices engineered by a trust carry with it its own check. For if the trust does not hold itself in check, if it does undertake to swell its profits by raising prices, such competition will spring up as must cause it to collapse. And if there was an open field and fair chance for all, special favors for none, this would happen. It would then indeed be abuse by a trust of its monopoly, increased profits for those outside, then more competition, then collapse of the trust, and the trust evil would cure itself.

But there is not this open field. To hold a monopoly used to exact tribute from the public in the shape of enhanced prices, enhanced prices that mean increased profits to those outside of the trust and therefore increased competition, those increased profits must be destroyed. The trust may destroy them at a loss to itself by underselling, hoping to recoup itself when it has squeezed its competitors to the wall, driven them out of business, regained a monopoly by raising prices. But this is costly and uncertain and our trusts have found a much better way. They find the railroads to be an effective instrument for destroying the profits of competitors. By judicious regulation of freight tariffs the railroads can sweep such profits away, sweep away the profits of anyone whose business is dependent on railroad transportation and at the same time by a system of freight rebates, leave large profits to those whom they see fit to favor. And this far reaching instrument the trusts have availed of, the successful ones have made it to the interest of railroad managers to favor them with these rebates.

Before the growth of trusts can be stopped, before the evil of trusts can be done away with this instrument with which they have ensconced themselves in power must be put beyond their reach. The party that has not the courage to do this or is unwilling is the friend of the trusts; both Republican and Democratic parties have been tried and found wanting; the Peoples party approaches the question directly, proposes to remove this instrument beyond the reach of the trusts by nationalizing our railroads, it alone is the enemy of trusts.



## CALL FOR STATE CONVENTION.

Peoples Party State Convention Will Meet at Philadelphia  
September 7, 1899.

HEADQUARTERS PEOPLES PARTY,  
STATE COMMITTEE,  
MEADVILLE, PA., May 10, 1899.

The members of the Peoples party and all others who favor its principles are invited to assemble in their respective counties and choose delegates and alternates upon the basis of apportionment as presented in the annexed schedule, to meet in State Convention at Philadelphia, Pa., on Thursday, September 7, 1899 for the purpose of adopting a platform and nominating a state ticket, and for such other business as may properly come before them. The time and place fixed being the same as the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, the lowest possible excursion rates are assured.

For further information please address R. A. Thompson, Indiana, Pa., who has kindly consented to look after the details, etc., during my absence from the state.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES W. MILLER,

Chairman State Committee Peoples Party of Pennsylvania.

The following indicates the number of delegates each county is entitled to under the rules of our party:

Allegheny, 24; Crawford, 21; Erie, 11; Philadelphia, 10; Bradford, Indiana, Luzern, Susquehanna, Tioga, Westmoreland, 7 each; Beaver, Berks, Lycoming, 6 each; Huntingdon, McKean, Mercer, Warren, Washington, 5 each; Blair, Cambria, Clearfield, Jefferson, Venango, 4 each; Bucks, Chester, Columbia, Dauphin, Fayette, Lackawanna, Lancaster, Lawrence, Montgomery, Northampton, Northumberland, Schuylkill, Wyoming, 3 each, and all other counties not mentioned in the above, 2 delegates each.

## POLITICAL ECONOMY AS A SCIENCE OF HOPE.

*Value and Distribution*, an Historical, Critical and Constructive Study in Economic Theory. By CHARLES WILLIAM MACFARLANE. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$2.50.

WE WISH some one of the younger school of economists flinging off the leading strings of the old doctrinaires and not following in their wake as mere copyists, rehashing their theories and falling into their errors, would write a political economy that might fitly be stamped as a science of hope. Of works unfolding political economy as a dismal science we have had a satiety. All the works of the doctrinaires are such though many have striven to brighten up the science as best they might while building it as one resting on a state of retrogression not of progress. For as the world fills up they have held that man will be obliged to take up less fertile soils, that therefore the rewards of labor must become subject to that inexorable law of diminishing returns upon which they build their whole science and as an inevitable consequence the obstacles to earning a livelihood become greater and greater as a country grows and becomes more thickly populated. It follows that if a nation grow in numbers and strength the lot of its laboring population must grow harder. Thus we have had our political economy reared on the assumption that the laws governing the economic world were not of increasing returns and progress, but of decreasing returns and retrogression.

Now we hold that there is no such thing as a science of despair. A study of science ought to be a study of hope, for a study of science is simply a deciphering of Nature's laws. And surely those laws are laws of progress, laws the following of which will lead us upward to higher heights, not downward, sink us in the sloughs of retrogression. Our faith in the infinite love and charity and goodness of Him who rules the universe forbids the thought that laws he has given to us for our guidance, the inexorable laws of nature, are laws of retrogression, laws that must crush down humanity, cause despair not hope, breed selfishness and bitterness and discord, not faith and love and charity. And science is merely the unfolding, the deciphering of God's laws. If then in our studies we decipher these laws as laws of retrogression our faith in the infinite justice of God, Him who made none but perfect laws, tells us that we have deciphered them incorrectly and we turn back to decipher them anew, in the full conviction that we will not have read them aright until we see in them laws of hope and progress, laws

given us for our guidance and by the proper deciphering and following of which we can lift ourselves to higher and higher heights.

And in this conviction we boldly cast out the law of diminishing returns as a basis on which to build the science of political economy. On the reverse law, that of increasing returns, a law the truthfulness of which we see vouched for in the history of the world we build. It is as population grows and the association of man with man becomes closer and more intimate that the productiveness of labor increases. It is as population grows, the productiveness of labor grows and capital accumulates that man's command over the resources of nature increases. And nature's resources that are at the command of man if by the study of nature's laws he learns how to command them, how to harness nature's forces are limitless and inexhaustible. If the world were subject to a law of diminishing returns there would be retrogression with the growth of population and such growth would be a curse. But looking back over the history of the world we find that progress has come with increase in population, retrogression with decline. And such lessons we cannot discard. If our theories do not accord with such lessons better discard the theories.

Now we do not wish it to be inferred from what we have said that Prof. MacFarlane has written of political economy as a science of despair. Where he has not defended the old doctrinaires against the charge of being preachers of a dismal science on the ground that their critics have not understood them, he has striven to eliminate their dismal conclusions, but he clings to the law of diminishing returns as all important and builds around it his theory of rent and the distribution of wealth, the term rent being used in its economic and specialized sense not only to mean rent of land growing out of differences in fertility and location but the reward of superior skill in the employer and wage earner. In this sense we may speak of part of the profit of the entrepreneur and the pay of the skilled mechanic as rent.

In its generally accepted meaning part of rent must be regarded as interest on capital invested, or rather interest on the capital necessary to create a manufacturing or agricultural plant of like worth to one for which rent is asked. If it is impossible to create such new plants when the demand for old so increases that they will command more rent than is the equivalent of fair interest on the capital invested, then the old plants will take on monopoly rent, then there will be a monopoly rent, and this rent will be the annual worth of the old plants over such new of an inferior kind that it may be possible to create to meet the demand for more products. And this is what in the economic sense goes by the name of rent. But not so much of what ordinarily goes by the name of rent consists of this monopoly rent as is commonly supposed, for all that it needs to create new plants, new productive power to meet increased demands is, as a general thing, capital. And this applies to farming lands even as to manufacturing plants, for the best, most fertile farming land is that which it takes most capital to clear and prepare for the first crop. Therefore such land is the last to be brought under cultivation not the first, and the law of diminishing returns does not apply to agriculture as generally supposed. The truth is that as capital accumulates new farming lands of greater fertility are brought under cultivation and new manufacturing plants better than the old, of greater productivity per unit of labor than the old, are created, and thus it is that rent often falls below an equivalent of interest on capital invested in the old instead of rising above. This must happen when the newly created can produce enough to meet all demands at a price that those working old plants cannot meet and at the same time pay a rent equal to interest on the capital invested in such plants. Further, in a progressive state just this will happen, the productivity of labor always increasing, the productiveness of the new exceeding the productiveness of the old. Consequently in a healthy economic state rents on the old will fall not rise, unless the old be kept up with the new by the expenditure by the owner of new capital.

The question of interest Prof. MacFarlane treats with much effectiveness, and his contribution showing the error of those "many well-meaning though not well informed advocates of reform," who still contend "that the rate of interest may be decreased by increasing the supply of money," is especially valuable. Yet with his sight focussed on the law of diminishing returns he fails to see the whole truth about the law of interest. Properly interest is to be regarded as rent for the use of the things that money will buy. We here use the term rent in its general and not restricted sense. The more valuable the use of those things is, *i. e.*, the more profit can be made by their use the higher will

interest be. Duplicate those things and interest will fall. Duplicate the supply of money, and that money will become cheaper, but the rent for the use of the things money will buy and paid as interest payments on the money that it is necessary to borrow to buy such things will be in no way diminished. The nominal rate may be diminished, but there will be double the principal to pay upon. Clearly, then, the only thing to reduce interest is the duplication of things used in the production of wealth, or, in other words, the accumulation of capital. And capital accumulates because the producer, from the hope of future reward, abstains from consuming all that he produces. For the sake of increasing his future returns he foregoes present enjoyment that expenditure of his wealth in consumption would bring him. Now, argues Prof. MacFarlane, the higher this reward the greater the incentive to abstain, to save and accumulate. And thus he reasons that a fall in the rate of interest must check the accumulation of capital, and so tend to keep interest from falling. But as capital accumulates labor becomes more productive and the accumulation of capital costs less effort, less sacrifice. Consequently, as capital accumulates, men will see in smaller interest rates greater incentive to abstain from the enjoyment of all that they produce than when their labor was less productive they saw in higher rates. And, hence, the fall in interest rates naturally coming with the accumulation of capital will not rudely check such accumulation. So we get the true law of interest that Prof. MacFarlane, with the spectre of diminishing returns before his eyes, does not see with all its promise, namely, that with progress and the increased productiveness of labor interest rates fall.

So we see that in a healthy state rents of productive properties and interest charges should fall, the share of the renter and capitalist, of the drones of society in the wealth produced be reduced, the share of the workers be increased. And the workers are who? Employers and wage earners, and their shares fall to them as profits and wages. Now how the distribution? To begin with much that we ordinarily class as profits is nothing more than interest and rent the employer being his own capitalist and landlord. Furthermore a large part of what goes by the name of profits may be considered as the pay for superior organizing and directing abilities. And that pay is determined by the law of rent, or in other words by the worth of the superiority that may be possessed over those least able but still in the field competing. If because of superiority in organizing ability one captain of industry can produce more wealth at a given expenditure than his rivals such wealth will be his profit, the rent of the entrepreneur. But those at the bottom of the scale in ability of course will have no profit that may be regarded in the economic sense as rent. Still they must earn something to induce them to continue production and it is to this margin that Prof. MacFarlane restricts the term profit. Of course this margin can vary but in certain limits, for an increase will tempt further turning of enterprise to such production, a decrease drive out of business some already in. So it follows that profits in the restricted sense being thus fixed the share of the wage earner in the wealth produced ought to increase with the productiveness of his labor. If it does not increase there is a screw loose somewhere, we are allowing something to defeat the divine laws the deciphering of which constitutes the science of political economy.

In the work before us we have a sequence of learned disquisitions on one phase of this science, that of the distribution of wealth, on the laws of value, rent, profit, interest and wages. The work is especially strong in criticisms of the theories advanced by the leaders of the Austrian and German schools of economic thought. Finally, and as set forth in sub-title, it is a book "adapted for advanced and post-graduate work," not for general reading.

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## BOOK REVIEWS.

### Luther as the Man for His Time.

*Heroes of the Reformation. Martinus Luther.* By HENRY EYSTER JACOBS, D.D., LL. D. Illustrated; with maps. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

Conditions and the proper time, ripe movements and circumstances, produce, within the right place, the man needed at the right time. This is said to be true in the domain of thought and mind, of art and science, of brilliant heroism. And what is true in the realm of intellect is also unquestionably true in that of religion, the great preparer for a higher life. A Washington in Spain at the time of Philip II. would never have become the Washington we revere as the "Father of his Country." Peter I. of Russia, born in this century in England, would never have turned out to be the "Great Czar" of the Russians. And so, in numberless instances, one may adduce fact after fact and succeed in proving again and again that heroes have developed only in those countries where they were most needed, and at such times as they could become most effective for the cause for which they seemed to have been destined.

Of all the European nations of the Middle Ages the German people took rank as a genuinely pious people with a deep-rooted religious tendency implanted within them from the very cradle. Representing a conception of the so-called "need of the hour," they stood as an example for achievements of learning, for high convictions on spiritual agitation, which was not only demanded, but brought about by the people themselves in many directions. What wonder then that a Martinus Luther should be born in such a Germany and at a time when a man of his stamp was so greatly needed. And to the glory of Germany be it said, it produced a man whose genius, whose treasures of high power, whose bold daring was destined to shine in the field of theology like the deeds of a Julius Cæsar; who rejuvenized the world of thought and who brought about changes in that direction such as former centuries had never dreamed of.

To draw a perfectly clear picture of this man who characterizes the world of progress, the world of enlightenment and the world of free thought of to-day, is by no means an easy task; it seems almost as difficult to write a book in one volume that would show clearly the voluminous services Luther has rendered to the world through his deep knowledge of and guidance by the Divine Truth, which led him throughout his life. The author having succeeded in accomplishing both so well, his book must certainly be acknowledged a masterpiece of scholarly attainment. From a theological standpoint it is certainly an ideal work, because of the great and valuable information every student of theology can obtain from it. But it becomes also useful as a popular biography, as a work of reference and chronology, and as a modern-critical text book. Every one of the three books with their twenty-eight chapters is of a solid, massive and scholarly form, while some chapters are intensely interesting and full of action. This is a book of Luther in every sense, the very key-note of reformation, in which the reader is made to wander rapidly through the different stages of the history of that epoch.

This is the first volume of the "Heroes of the Reformation" series, by Henry Eyster Jacobs, professor of systematic theology, and dean of the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary of Philadelphia. The Rev. Doctor Jacobs is a well known writer on this subject and a historian of acknowledged authority. His aim is quite different from that of many writers on like subjects who give to their heroes, to the religious reformers especially, the cloak of the saint. He portrays his Luther as a man mortal in body, a man of extraordinary ability, a man who is great at rejoicing with friends, laughing at enemies. He has done away with every kind of myth so often and so much attributed to Luther, he has also done away entirely with all the legendary stories, resting merely upon the imagination of superstitious contemporaries but which have, nevertheless, obscured the real personality of Luther. He gives him the appearance of a man rather than a saint, of a man who had a glorious aim in view, at the same time characterizing him strongly as the hero of the Evangelical Church, of which great institution he merely becomes the figure head. Very interestingly reads the fourteenth chapter of the third book, which gives a clear insight into Luther's theology. So, referring to the holiness of the church, he says: "We are to believe that the church is holy; we cannot see it." He is furthermore much perplexed concerning the



question of consciousness between death and the resurrection. And here is what he has to say in regard to it: "How the soul rests we ought not to know. It is certain that it lives. Consider man in a trance or sleeping. \* \* \* I do not feel that I am living when I sleep. \* \* \* Often, when I have earnestly tried to notice the moment of my falling asleep, and the moment of my awakening, I have awakened already before I took notice."

The appendix of the book contains the bull of Leo X. against Martin Luther and his followers, and also Luther's Confession. A very fine index and a particularly interesting map showing the distribution of Protestants and Roman Catholics in Middle Europe, A. D. 1555, complete this beautifully illustrated book on that man whose doctrines have become a new religion to millions of followers; whose fame as a good man, with sincere convictions, will live through centuries to come; whose achievements in upholding noble convictions, in fighting with might for what he believed to be right, and securing unto a world the benefit of free thought and action have revolutionized whole centuries; whose name "Martin Luther," humanity will always, irrespective of theological convictions, utter with awe and reverence, because of the greatness it conveys, of the greatness its owner brought upon himself, upon his country and the world at large, because it is that of a man of strong will and honest purposes, who devoted himself fearlessly and conscientiously to what he conceived to be the right.

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#### Sidney Lanier.

*Music and Poetry.* Essays upon Aspects and Inter-Relations of the two Arts. By SIDNEY LANIER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

To be great means often to be misunderstood. This statement can truthfully be applied to many of our most prominent men of genius. The greater the man the more he is misunderstood and misjudged, and the less he is comprehended by his contemporaries, who mentally stand so far below him that they are unable to fully realize his greatness. If this is true in the realm of literature, how infinitely more is it in that of art, for here not many are privileged to sway their scepter and these few so high above the ordinary! Often do we hear of a comparison between music and art. And one hardly knows how to fully ascertain whether music is considered art or art music. What is music if not one part of the highest perfection of art, and poetry another? Two men have tried to solve this difficult problem—Johann Ephraim Lessing, the great German critic, and Sidney Lanier, the American essayist. Lessing had one view in regard to the matter whilst Lanier held another. The former divided poetry from music entirely, finding that the objective beauties of the one can never be interchanged with the subjective charms of the other. Then comes Lanier, a more modern but less thorough scholar in this field, yet a man with acknowledged ability, and completely overthrows the ideas of the German by holding that music and poetry are so closely intertwined that it is nowhere possible wholly to separate the beauties of thought and of sound. Throughout his works and in the book before us Sidney Lanier gives the most surprising proofs of his theory, making these two arts one—one of which cannot very well exist without the other, one of which must always have the other, aid the other to reach that perfection, height and lofty grandeur to which he sees it rise. Indeed, he excels himself in clearly making us see, and in some cases perhaps making us believe, his newly established theory, but that he will find followers enough in the present day to establish a new school can scarcely be believed.

As for Sidney Lanier, whatever the world may think of his work, he is certainly an artist, but more a poet, a poet to whom poetry is the highest ideal of art. His poetry, to judge by the few stanzas selected by him for this book, is saturated with melody and in this particular he is distinguished from the great number who must use some effort, often noticeable, to introduce into poetry the method of music. Lanier succeeds in convincing us of his grand originality in this capacity, in which he is free from every effort and strain. And because of this he is a poet, and because there is no art about him, he is an artist. He expresses this idea in one of his essays most beautifully, saying that this age needs a great deal yet for true perfection and above all, "What this age needs is heart." And it seems that because he knew how to use the heart he speaks of so well, he had to suffer at the hands of his critics.

The present book consists of thirteen essays, every one of which has been much criticised, but each one of which is a thorough piece of work and art. These essays were written about thirty years ago, and are therefore no longer by any means

in accordance with modern ideas. Each one of these essays express in one common language Lanier's enthusiastic love and nice knowledge of the scientific sound, teaching, at the same time, how to give expression to it. His first essay from Bacon to Beethoven, says his editor, can fairly be taken as the key-note of this present volume. But, the theory of the whole physical side is set forth in detail in "The Science of English Verse."

As for Lanier, the poet, the scientist, the man and citizen, he was, like most noted geniuses of his day, poor and always in distress. He was born in Macon, Georgia; but Baltimore became his town by adoption. He died young and is buried in Greenmount Cemetery with friends, the Turnbull family, distinguished for their love of art and science, and for their love and sympathy for Lanier. His life, as said before, was a short one, short in years, short in money, short in worldly fortune. What matters a short life, however, or a diminutive purse if that short life has opened new channels for human thought? The true poets are innovators and prophets it is said. Their vision may be so far in advance of their own time as to be imperfectly comprehended—ay—sometimes even by themselves. Their glory is bound to come; it is established for futurity, and even so with Sidney Lanier.

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#### Mr. Crockett's Latest.

*The Black Douglas.* By S. R. CROCKETT. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.50.

First in the love of Woman,  
First in the field of fight,  
First in the death that men must die,  
Such is the Douglas' right.

Of all the great and powerful families in Scotland, the Douglas stood without question first. It was recognized and acknowledged both home and abroad as the one house of all Scotland. For many generations the King, himself, was a mere puppet in the land of the Scots, for above him stood the Earl of Douglas. Their reputation for reckless and daring courage, haughty yet noble pride, is a component part of Scotch history. Jealousy and hatred long waged unsuccessful battle against the real lords and masters of that land of bloodshed and strife. Incessant battle marked the period, clan against clan, murder, robbery, arson, all that was needful to make the country a perfect hot-bed of lawlessness. The only time this condition of affairs did not exist was in the presence of foreign invasion when the warring clans would lay aside their struggles just long enough to chastise the foreign interloper. But as time went on even this union was impossible, till at last we find countless pages of Scottish history recounting the union of certain families with the foreigner for the overthrow of some hated rival. Such was the case with the Douglas. At the time of Black William Douglas, the figure-head of Mr. Crockett's present work, the advisers and guardians of the boy king, James II., are working in conjunction with the Marshal de Retz, representing the Crown of France, for the overthrow and destruction of the famous family. The King of France was interested in getting complete possession of the Duchy of Touraine, over which land the Black Douglas claimed suzerainty. He only waited an opportunity to strike the blow that should realize his hopes and aspirations. Finally it came in a dispute between King James' advisers, Livingston and Crichton, who both appealed to the Douglas for his favor and help one against the other. To their several requests the Earl made answer in those words that became so famous over all Scotland: "Let dog eat dog. Wherefore should the lion care?" This insult was too much and the old time bitter enemies proclaimed a truce, the King of France gave his assistance, and the brothers Douglas were enticed by fair words and actions to the city of Edinburgh and there foully done to death.

Around these facts Mr. Crockett has drawn a highly interesting and thrilling story filled with the spirit of adventure for which he is so well known. Our author has been at the present book for some ten years and we agree with him that it is by all odds his best production. He does not let a naturally very vivid imagination carry him so far away from the land of truth and reality as in his previous books, but even so, he has not succeeded entirely in conquering this stubborn and unfortunate trait. Till the death of Douglas the story is one of marked strength, but from that point on the author gives way to the old complaint that takes the book into the region of myths and impossibilities.

The account of the noble and beautifully tragic death of the Douglas and the triumph of treachery, is one to burn itself into

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the very soul. Our sympathy goes out from the heart as we see the mother Douglas watching the departure of her loved sons, with a terrible presentiment of their approaching death. "There cometh a night when every one of us watches the grey shallows to the East, for those that shall return no more." Think of the mother's heart broken and crushed by her irreparable loss and one will realize the strength of Mr. Crockett's comment; "She had been kneeling all night before the image of the Virgin, with her lips upon the feet of her who was also a woman, and who by treachery lost a son," seeking in the darkness of her despair the guiding hand of the Infinite.

The men and women characters of the book are the well remembered men and women of Mr. Crockett's previous works. The volume is handsomely gotten up and is attractive in every way.

\*\*

#### Another Wyckoff Experiment.

No. 5 John Street, by RICHARD WHITEING. New York. The Century Company. \$1.50

Taken together with Mr. Wyckoff's personal investigation of the labor question and its different phases from the American standpoint, this book of Mr. Whiteing's, dealing both with the highest and most lowly walks of London life, makes an especially interesting comparison, not only of the subject itself but of the methods pursued in the research. On Mr. Wyckoff's "Workers" we have here nothing to add to the criticisms we made in reviewing the books upon their appearance some months back. We are free to say, however, that the Englishman has written an infinitely stronger and more useful, not to say entertaining book than that of our much talked of Princeton professor. Mr. Whiteing does not take occasion to constantly remind the reader of what a remarkable and indeed heroic deed was his in giving up the comforts and luxuries of life that he might meet the laborer at first hand; in fact he seems to have overlooked this opportunity of self advertisement. On the other hand the book before us is not in any sense one that will mark an epoch, or one to be remembered and referred to by our children. It is merely the impressions, derived from personal and evidently careful study, of a scion of the rich living the daily life of the London poor for the short period of some six weeks. The benefits of this as yet experimental method of study are purely problematical as the conclusions arrived at must of necessity be colored if not entirely made up from the personal experiences of the writer. Different writers making a study of an identical case will naturally often come to absolutely antagonistic conclusions. In this way we are more apt to get the character of the writer himself than the true picture of the life he describes. Still, if the work be undertaken for the benefit and uplifting of the struggling poor we can have naught but praise, for there can be nothing in all the world more noble and inspiring than the efforts of man to assist his less favored brothers. How often purely selfish motives impel such study it is not our intention to guess, but we are willing to ascribe the highest of impulses to Mr. Whiteing. We say this advisedly as we notice time and again his great sympathy for the unfortunates condemned to live and die in squalor and utter poverty, often denied the simple blessings of pure air and sunshine. He realizes to its full extent what it means to a human being to be without friendship, love or hope, and he has seen the lonely death and unmarked grave of many a man and woman as good as any of us would be under like distressing and unfavorable circumstances. Were it not for faith in the Infinite and in the promise that the Great Father sees and notes all things, even to the fall of a sparrow, hopeless and deep despair must enter our very soul in contemplation of the doleful picture.

The author's comparison between the London poor and rich at the time of the Queen's Jubilee is done with much care and leads one into some pretty strong thinking on one's own account. Throughout the book runs a vein of really good humor that materially assists in brightening and lightening the story.

During his period of study our author must support himself by his own endeavors without any outside assistance, so we find him in the course of a few days in search of work with starvation or return to his former life staring him in the face. With commendable pluck he sticks it out.

"I own I am considerably down on my luck when I get home and begin to realize what it is to be suddenly thrust into the ranks of the unemployed. Their condition, I can imagine, is not half so funny as it is made to appear in the comic papers, though one ought not to mind that. What I had reckoned on was steady work at steady wages. Here, I am, all adrift

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club of five,	\$2.75
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as to the earning, and under dread of the milkman's frown. \* \* \* To look for a berth! O celestial powers! Nobody wants me on this wide earth! Absolutely nothing that is in demand in the labor market can I supply." To live at all Mr. Whiteing had to find work, meanwhile philosophizing. "It seems to dispose forever of the lie that the best way to make a man work is to let him starve. The shorter my commons the longer my loafing rests. I am debauched into vagabondage, and I soon cease to look for a job. Self-respect, I find, is still but the eclecticism of the respect of others. With no friendly eye on him the runner will lose his race. It is so plain that nobody in all multitudinous London cares whether I get work or fail to get it that I soon cease to care on my own account. My chief concern is how to glide through the day with the smallest possible expenditure of toil, either of body or mind." Toward the end of the experiment the author finds that "the strain of it seems to grow harder as the day of deliverance draws nigh. Letters from my world to come pour in by every post. The famished dog can now smell the uplifted morsel as well as see it, and he is fain to yell for desire. \* \* \* I run straight home to Piccadilly, let myself in, bathe, feed and sink into dreamless sleep, until I open my eyes, next morning, on dear old Stubbs drawing the curtains and laying the cup of tea by the bedside." On the morrow, "I open the campaign at Christie's. I really did not mean to buy anything, yet I lay out four hundred pounds. Never mind; it is only my savings in John Street."

#### National Peace Jubilee—Washington. Reduced Rates via Pennsylvania Railroad.

On account of the National Peace Jubilee, to be held at Washington, D. C., May 23, 24 and 25, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company has arranged to sell excursion tickets from all stations to Washington at rate of *single fare for the round trip*, except that the rates from New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore will be \$8.00, \$5.00 and \$2.00 respectively, with proportionate rates from intermediate and adjacent points.

Tickets will be sold May 22 and 23, good to return within ten days from date of sale when properly validated by the agent at Washington.—*Adv.*

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FRANK J. CHENEY makes oath that he is the senior partner of the firm of F. J. CHENEY & Co., doing business in the City of Toledo, County and State aforesaid, and that said firm will pay the sum of ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS for each and every case of Catarrh that cannot be cured by the use of HALL'S CATARRH CURE.

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#### Greatly Reduced Rates to Denver.

Via Chicago & North-Western Railway. On account of the annual meeting, *General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, to be held in Denver, May 18-26, 1899, excursion tickets will be sold at the favorable rate of one fare plus \$2.00 for the round trip, with favorable return limits. Tickets on sale May 15-16, 1899. For rates and other information ask your nearest ticket agent or apply to

H. W. Beyers, 601 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, Pa.—*Adv.*

#### BRIEFER NOTICES.

*A New England Boyhood.* By EDWARD EVERETT HALE. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$1.50.

Some years since there appeared an unassuming but most attractive book, "A New England Girlhood," by a Miss Larcom, which led Mr. Horace Scudder, of the *Atlantic Monthly*, to look about him for some one to write the story of the boy. His idea was that, taken together with Miss Larcom's work, it would make a complete and valuable tale of the New England life of two generations ago. At the request of Mr. Scudder, Dr. Edward Everett Hale undertook the task. This book of Dr. Hale's is of the light and airy order and makes no pretense at the deep or philosophical. The chatty vein throughout recalls the stories of one's own grandfather, about the good old days of his youth, of past pleasures such as we poor children know naught of. Indeed, to thoroughly enjoy the book and understand its meaning we should have the accompaniment of the good roaring old-fashioned fire, that truest of companions, by which we could read a little and muse more in the flickering and dancing light. Under such

conditions the reader will be able to get much enjoyment from these pages, glowing with tender associations and early friendships. Dr. Hale seems to greatly enjoy recalling old faces and old times, but to us it is with a sad heart we note page by page the passing of some dear old friend. We cannot remember the people he speaks of, but we can see the deep pathos of our author's position, standing now almost alone among new faces and changed conditions. Still we find him as joyful and happy as a child, glorying in the knowledge that his eventful and active life has been of inestimable value and assistance to his fellow men.

To the Bostonian the book should be a perfect treasure and one that should and doubtless will find a warm welcome. The historical and general worth of the book is that it presents an excellent opportunity to judge of the days of our grandfathers as measured by our own.

\*\*\*

*An Index Finger.* By TULIS ABROJAL. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.25.

The believer in and advocate of spiritualism will find the author of this book a worthy and sincere friend and ally, one ever ready to throw down the gauntlet and wage unrelenting and ruthless warfare with those daring to dispute the "message" she brings. Beyond question she is one who has or thinks she has "a calling," one who is willing and probably has suffered for advocacy of unpopular ideas. But far from being discouraged or disheartened we find our author returning again to the fray, exulting in opposition and persecution, with a supreme if not surprising faith in the ultimate triumph of her cause. Of the spirit that inspires her and of the utter contempt for the ways of the world displayed, we can have naught but praise, hearty and sincere. In the veins of such a person runs the blood of martyrs. While unable to accept the teachings of this book to any appreciable extent, we are more than willing to give full praise and sympathy to the bold and fearless spirit that persists in running counter to the accepted views of mankind.

To the work itself and its lesson we take exception. We have never been believers in spiritualism, and this book has most certainly failed to convert us or to even shake our former opinions. To our mind the idea of departed friends speaking from the other world to this by means of the "Planchette" is absurd. We fail absolutely to discover any reason for such a mode of procedure. Surely if the spirits of the dead can speak to anyone in this life they would not descend so far as to make use of an erring mortal's invention. If there is to be any communication from the one world to the other surely the message would be conveyed in a simple and direct manner without the unnecessary assistance of some medium. The lesson our author attempts to teach and the questions she propounds are as old as the world, and the conclusions arrived at are those of countless millions. Every true man has asked himself the old, old question: "If a man die, shall he live again?" Few men come but to the one conclusion, though they may get there by different and diverging roads, namely that God is love, and love is God, and such being the case there must in the nature of things be a future life. This is the lesson taught in the present book. To its conclusions we say, amen, to its methods of arriving at such, we can but say they are not ours.

There is one point we desire to bring out prominently, and we trust the author's words will not fall unheeded. That is her



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appeal for the time honored preface to every book. The spirit of the time seems to be to rush at once into the subject discussed without any explanation or apology. Before concluding we must pause a moment over the introductory remarks of the author, by far the best part of the book, to present her view of modern fiction. It hits the present day writer squarely between the eyes and we trust the blow will not be forgotten.

"I have read many interesting works of fiction, but for the most part I laid them down dissatisfied. \* \* \* Often they were very attractive pictures of that which the world is to so many—a fool's paradise. They dealt with the emotions of those whose lives they portrayed, and they appealed to the emotions of those who read them; and all had ever the one, one theme—the pursuit of happiness. And all pursuers saw the alluring phantom in the same shape and gave chase to it by the same road. \* \* \* Now the form of this phantom was the love of this man and the woman for each other and the possession of each by the other. Romances have been mostly amplified sex chases. They wrought upon the reader's emotions through many harrowing chapters, the end thereof being that a certain man married the particular woman he was pursuing."

\* \*

*American Colonial Handbook.* By THOMAS CAMPBELL COPELAND. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co. 50 cents.

This little pocket volume, bound in flexible covers, is a handy compendium of information regarding the islands which passed from under Spanish sovereignty as a result of the recent war. In get-up, character and appearance it recalls the college quiz book, which the undergraduate, especially the medical student, finds so useful in times of stress, and like it makes a ready reference which is valuable or the reverse according to the disposition of him who uses it. Again it reminds us of another class of book, that with the red cover which protrudes from the pocket of every right-minded tourist. The book before us has been compiled by Thomas Campbell-Copeland, one of the editors of the "Standard Dictionary," and on the whole bears evidence of careful and painstaking work. For its special purpose it is the best thing we have seen, and in essentials we find it accurate, as it is likewise conveniently arranged. But when in the lists given of different animals found in the several islands, (a feature of the book upon which we have seen great stress put) we notice in one place "calves," we rather wonder what these become in after life, especially as in the list for a neighboring island we find "the bull" named. And then, it is not a little confusing to have the manatee, dolphin, lobster, oyster, tortoise all carefully classed as fish. Still, some reputed naturalists have made classifications almost as wonderful, and so, perhaps, we ought not to expect a dictionarian to be fully versed in the nice distinctions of science. And then too, our author is, in a way, but following the lead of the Spanish.

\* \*

*Just Rhymes.* By CHARLES BATTELL LOOMIS. Illustrated by F. Y. Cory. New York: R. H. Russell. \$1.00.

Anyone familiar with the characteristics of the Russell poster need not look beyond the cover of this book to know from whence it comes. But as such treatment would hardly answer the hopes and expectations of either publisher or author, we had best not dismiss the volume without at least giving it a chance to disclose what jewels of comic humor, humorous comedy, and clever illustration lie concealed within, ready to pop out like Pandora's imps and overwhelm us. But having braved dangers we knew not of, even as the too curious Epimetheus—who we might pity, but for the troubles his weakness and carelessness brought upon us so unnecessarily—we yet breathe and live. So let the timid take heart and fear not what lurks within the pages of this book. And when they have found out for themselves they may cry out in the words of the Frenchman who got his head banged by taking the English language too literally. "Why for you say look out when you mean look in?"

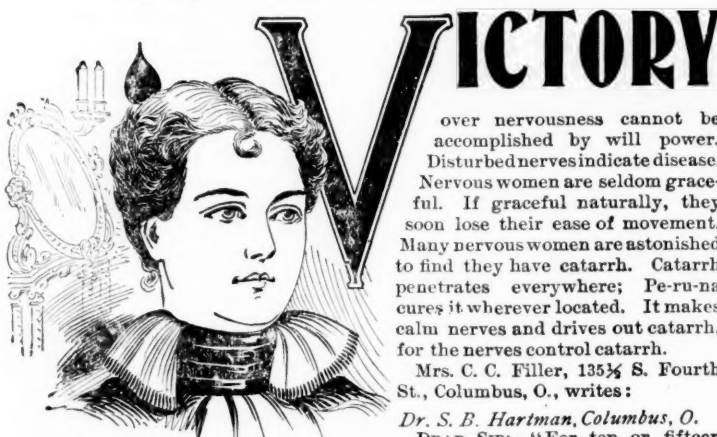
#### Low Rates to Minneapolis.

On account of the annual meeting, *General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church*, the Chicago and North-Western Railway will sell low rate tickets to Minneapolis and return on May 16-18, limited to June 3, 1899, at one fare plus \$2.00. Tickets honored on the North-Western Limited, electric lighted throughout, leaving Chicago daily 6.30 P. M. Other trains leave Chicago at 9.00 A. M., 10.00 P. M. and 10.15 P. M. For full information apply to any ticket agent or address

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